

The Woman's Protest

AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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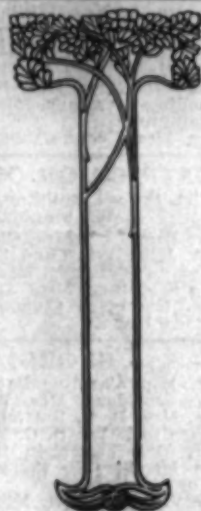
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MISS MINNIE BRONSON
General Secretary, National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage

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OHIO'S GREAT DEMONSTRATION

THE remarkable reorganization plans of New York State have already caused one newspaper to say, "the antis are building a steam-roller." Meanwhile, thrice victorious anti-suffrage Ohio, the State that *repealed* Woman Suffrage by popular vote, has elected Mrs. Nicholas Longworth, Sr., as its President, and throughout the country anti-suffragists are being organized as never before to *defeat the Triple Alliance*.

The third victory for the anti-suffragists in Ohio—the *repeal* of presidential suffrage by popular vote after the suffragists had persuaded the Legislature of that State to ignore two previous popular defeats of woman suffrage—was the most magnificent demonstration in this country that the majority of the people are opposed to woman suffrage.

Ohio, like Massachusetts, Maine and West Virginia, is a representative American State. There is no man or measure that has ever received the overwhelmingly registered popular indorsement that the anti-suffragists have been given in these representative States.

Ohio's great demonstration has not received the public attention that its political significance deserves. Ohio *repealed* Woman Suffrage by a majority of 146,120—on the same day that New York, with twice as many electors, adopted Woman Suffrage by 102,353 majority. The anti-suffrage majority in Ohio was equi-

valent to a majority of 290,000 in New York. Thus the suffragists, even with the aid of the solid Socialist vote of New York City, actually proved only *one-half* as strong in the registration of majority sentiment as the anti-suffragists, *on the same day*, proved themselves in Ohio *for the third time*.

In the last five years the anti-suffragists have received a popular majority of 1,240,675. They have carried *sixteen* out of *nineteen* popular elections. The three States the anti-suffragists lost during that period—Montana, Nevada and New York—were carried for suffrage by the *Socialist vote*, by an aggregate majority of only 109,743 or 36,377 less than the "antis" received in Ohio alone! Is it any wonder that the suffragists, under the circumstances, are opposed to having each State settle this question for itself by popular vote? If the majority of the people *want Woman Suffrage*, why are the suffragists afraid to submit it to the voters? It is because the suffragists know that the *majority of the people are against Woman Suffrage* that they demand that Congress shall *disfranchise the voters on this question*. They are willing that everybody should vote on everything *except* Woman Suffrage. In the name of "democracy" they demand the "divine right" to force feminism upon the American people, just as the Kaiser, while probably willing to have everybody vote on everything else, demands the "divine right" to force Prussianism on the world.

A SYMPOSIUM OF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

THE enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

—United States Constitution, Article IX, Amendments.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

—United States Constitution, Article X, Amendments.

It is my duty and my oath to maintain inviolate the right of the States to order and control, under the Constitution, their own affairs by their own judgment exclusively. Such maintenance is essential for the preservation of that balance of power on which our institutions rest.

—Abraham Lincoln.

All the powers of the General Government are plainly such as affect interests which it would be impossible to regulate harmoniously by any scheme of separate State action, and only such; all other powers whatever remain with the States.

With them rests the regulation of the suffrage.

Some powers there are which are altogether withheld; they cannot under our system be exercised by any existing authority; they have been granted neither to Congress nor to the Legislatures of the States. Such, for example, is the power to grant to any person or class of persons exclusive political privileges or immunities.

The suffrage in particular is a privilege which each State may grant upon terms of its own choosing, provided only that those terms be not inconsistent with a republican form of government.

—Woodrow Wilson, in "State and Federal Governments of the United States."

Until we devise some plan, some scheme by which to carry out the letter and execute the spirit of the Constitution as it is now written, I will not consent, so far as I am concerned, to play the hypocrite any further. * * *

But there is another reason—and it is even a more controlling reason with me, because it goes to what I conceive the very foundation principles of the Republic. * * * I can not conceive of a State, or of anything of sufficient dignity to be called a State, which has lost the right to say who shall vote for its State officer. * * *

Popular Government is a delusion, a pretense, without the right of local self-government. * * * The right to vote can never, in the very nature of things, be other than a local question, for upon it rests the very integrity and sovereignty of the State.

—Senator W. E. Borah of Idaho

Without the right of local self-government we should lose the better part of our liberty. * * * There is nothing more essentially and vitally local to a community than the way in which it shall select the officers who are to govern it. Any external power which can control that, can control the Local Government. Nothing is more clear in the Constitution than that this is a matter of purely local concern. * * * If you destroy that free adjustment * * * you will destroy the whole system and ultimately break up the Union.

Hon. Elihu Root.

FROM THE FATHERS AND FOUNDERS OF THE UNITED STATES

LET there be no change by usurpation; for this, though it may in one instance be the instrument of good, is the ordinary weapon by which Free Governments are destroyed.

All combinations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency.

They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community, and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

—George Washington.

A SYMPOSIUM OF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES—Continued

I believe the States can best govern our home concerns. Interior Government is what each State should keep to itself. The States should severally preserve their sovereignty in whatever concerns themselves alone, and whatever may concern another State, or any foreign nation, should be made a part of the Federal Sovereignty. The true barriers of our liberty are our State Governments, and the wisest conservative power ever contrived by man is that by which our Revolution found us possessed. * * * When all government, domestic and foreign, in little things as in great things shall be drawn to Washington as the center of all power, it will render powerless the checks provided by one government on another, and will become as venal and oppressive as the government from which we separated.

—Thomas Jefferson.

The blow aimed at the members must give fatal wound to the head; and the destruction of the States must be at once a political suicide. Can the National Government be guilty of this madness?

—Alexander Hamilton.

No political dreamer was ever wild enough [in Marshall's time] to think of breaking down the lines which separate the States, and of compounding the American people into one common mass.

—Chief Justice Marshall.

FROM THE NATIONAL PARTY PLATFORMS

The Republican Party * * * favors the extension of suffrage to women, but recognizes the right of each State to settle this question for itself.

—National Republican Party Platform.

The Democratic Party.—We recommend the extension of the franchise to the women of the country by the States upon the same terms as to men.

—National Democratic Party Platform.

THE PRESIDENT'S INTERPRETATION

The President said the suffrage plank in the Democratic platform did not endorse the Federal Amendment. I told him it did not mention the Federal Amendment for or against. I asked him what did the plank mean? He said he hoped it meant what it said. I told him it did not say much and that it let us think anything we wanted to. He said he thought it meant it should come through the States and not by Federal Amendment.

Telegram from Mrs. D. E. Hooker, of Richmond, Va. (who interviewed the President regarding the suffrage plank on June 21, 1916) to the Woman's Journal, official suffrage organ.

FROM THE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

When I became a member of this body, I took an oath to "uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States."

The Federal Government is a government of delegated powers, and these powers were delegated to it by the several States, and it has power and authority from no other source. The Constitution provides specifically that "all powers not herein enumerated and hereby delegated to the United States are hereby reserved to the States or to the people thereof," and therefore it is clear that the Federal Government can legally exercise no power unless the same is delegated to it by the Constitution in express language or by necessary implication. If this proposition is sound—and I apprehend no one with any regard for his own reputation as a lawyer will dispute it—then let us examine the Constitution with reference to suffrage. Was the power to prescribe the qualifications of electors delegated to the United States in express language or by necessary implication? Is the authority to say who shall vote or who shall not vote in elections granted to the Federal Government either expressly or by inference? There is not one

line in the Constitution which even hints at the grant of any such power to the Federal Government, but on the contrary, the power to prescribe the qualifications of electors is reserved to the States exclusively.

—Representative Clark, of Florida (Democrat).

The Republicans specified that it as a party recognized the right of each State—and that means New York and Ohio and Michigan and individual units—and not the States collectively—of each unit, including every last State of this Union. No man can now or hereafter repudiate that platform and go to the people of his country and say that he kept the faith of that campaign.

—Representative Meeker, of Missouri (Republican).

We are told that this revolutionary proposition must be engrafted upon the organic law of this nation, because the people in different States of this Union have voted down proposed amendments to their State Constitutions, conferring the right to vote upon women in these Commonwealths. The only reasons which can be assigned for proposing this amendment are: (1) The qualifications of voters are defined in the Constitutions of the several States, and any change proposed therein must be submitted to a vote of the qualified electors. (2) By submitting this proposed amendment to the Legislatures of the several States, instead of to constitutional conventions called for the purpose of passing upon it, the purpose to prevent even an indirect expression of the people on the amendment is apparent. The real underlying motive, then for this proposed amendment is to over ride the action of the people of a number of the States at the polls, by an appeal to Congress and the Legislatures of other States.

This joint resolution is a naked and impudent repudiation of both the letter and spirit of the last national platforms adopted by the two leading political parties of this nation, and every man on this floor, elected as a Democrat or Republican, who did not in the last campaign repudiate the platform of his party on this question is guilty of an act of bad faith in voting for this joint resolution.

—Representative Gordon, of Ohio (Democrat).

The future of our nation and of civilization itself is at stake. We have become the deciding factor in the situation. If we win the war or do our part in winning the war, it will be by the exercise of physical force; and that physical force is vested in the manhood of the nation. A nation is just as strong as its men are strong. A nation will endure just so long as its men are virile. History, physiology and psychology all show that giving the woman equal political rights with men makes ultimately for the deterioration of manhood. It is therefore not only because I want our country to win this war, but because I want our nation to possess the male virility necessary to guarantee its future existence that I am opposed to the pending amendment.

—Representative Gray, of New Jersey (Republican).

The civilization of the white race in the South is involved in this matter of the ballot. We are working out this question of suffrage wisely and to the best interests of both races, and we ask you, our white brethren and sisters of the other sections of the country, to let us continue to work out this question as the builders of the Republic intended it should be worked out. The States now have that right, and no State ought to surrender it or have it taken from it. There is no necessity or justice to warrant such action by Congress. All the States in this Union that have given suffrage to their women gave it to them through the power now belonging to the States. But gentlemen now, strange to say, want to take this power away from the States and surrender it to the Federal Government.

—Representative Heflin, of Alabama (Democrat).

There are several reasons why I am not going to support this joint resolution. The first reason is because before I could get my name on the official ballot to be voted on as a Representative in Congress at the primaries, I had to sign a declaration, as did every Republican member of this House from the State of Ohio as well as every Democratic member from that State. It seems to me that we soon forget the pledges that we take, and this pledge was indeed a solemn one, because each one of us from Ohio, Democrats and Republicans alike, had to go before a notary public and sign it. I am not one of those who look upon this statutory obligation as a "scrap of paper."

—Representative Kearns, of Ohio (Republican).

A SYMPOSIUM OF FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES—Continued

We are squarely confronted with the query whether, as representatives of the people and defenders of the Constitution, we shall depart from this settled and well defined principle of government. I do not feel free to make that departure. My objections to this method are fundamental. This amendment is to prohibit the States from denying to women the right to vote. In its results it commands the States to grant the franchise to women. Under our scheme of Government this is an unwarranted and dangerous invasion of a fundamental right of the States.

—Representative Small, of North Carolina (Democrat).

I maintain that certain rights are reserved by the Constitution to each individual State, and that one of these is the right to determine what its electorate shall be. I deny the moral right at any rate of any State to enforce an electorate upon any other State. It is a fundamental right of the locality to determine its own electorate.

—Representative Parker, of New Jersey (Republican).

When I became a candidate for Congress I found that Ohio had a statute which would prevent my name from being printed on the ballot unless I filed a written declaration of my candidacy and a certificate pledging me to "support and abide by the principles enumerated by the party in its national platform and in its platform in the State of Ohio." * * * I took that obligation without mental reservation, and it was made sacred because of a solemn public promise of what I would do if elected. Much as I would like to extend the ballot to women, I can not now disregard my promises without at least feeling a sense of being guilty of a breach of good faith if not perjury.

—Representative Benjamin F. Welty, of Ohio (Democrat).

My opposition to the passage of this amendment is based solely and entirely on the fact that in my opinion this is no time to be trying an experiment of such tremendous magnitude as the granting of the franchise to millions and millions of new voters. These are decidedly abnormal times. The management of this great war is, to my mind, a one-man job, and so far as I am concerned, until peace is finally declared I should prefer to restrict the suffrage rather than to increase it.

Representative Lufkin, of Massachusetts (Republican).

It is not because I have any opposition to women exercising the right of franchise that I cast a negative vote on this amendment, but because of the manner in which it is sought to be obtained. A restrictive amendment upon the rights and the liberties of the people of a State attached to the Federal Constitution can not be desired by any person who has given careful thought to our system of government and the basis upon which local rights and liberty rests. I would be most pleased to vote to submit it for ratification to the States, but my sense of duty and my loyalty to the platform of the National Democracy and to the principles of my party and obedience to the will of an overwhelming majority of the people I represent forbids that I do so.

—Representative Moon, of Tennessee (Democrat).

A few weeks ago at my home in Texas, I was discussing the woman suffrage movement and this proposed amendment with an eminent lawyer, who told me that he was a supporter of the movement, and that if the Legislature of the State of Texas would submit an amendment to its constitution to confer upon the women of that State the right to vote he would support it; he would go upon the stump and advocate it before the people; but that if he were a member of the Congress of the United States and this amendment came forward for consideration and came to a vote, he would oppose it as one of the inexcusable innovations of the constitutional, fundamental, necessary rights of the States, if they are to exist.

—Representative Slayden, of Texas (Democrat).

Threats have been made by some of the women conducting this suffrage fight that they will defeat the Democratic Party unless there is a changed attitude on this question upon the part of the Congressmen from the South; and I have been pained and grieved to know that this threat has had some effect. I am a Democrat and have always been one. I am anxious to see my party successful at all times, but I prefer to see it right rather than see it successful, and

I would rather see it go down to defeat than to compromise when a principle is involved, as it is in this suffrage question.

—Representative Coady of Maryland (Democrat)

If you once pass this measure and force suffrage upon unwilling States, they are deprived of the right of ever changing their form of government, so far as suffrage is concerned. I urge you earnestly to adhere to the old and fundamental principle of State rights, so far as the government of internal affairs is concerned.

—Representative Stafford of Wisconsin (Republican).

The real meaning and effect of the passage of this resolution and its subsequent ratification by the required number of State legislatures will be to prevent the States of this nation from amending in this respect their own constitutions.

This is a most radical and elementary departure from the principles of that Constitution under whose benign protection the United States has achieved the highest place among all the nations of the world.

—Representative Gard of Ohio (Democrat).

I desire at this time to give my reasons briefly why I shall vote against this proposed constitutional amendment. The reasons are, first, because each State has, under the Constitution, the right to regulate the qualifications of its electors, and I do not believe that a matter of this character should be disturbed by a constitutional provision. Many States have justly exercised the right accorded them by the Federal Constitution and have given to women the right to vote, against which I have no objection.

—Representative Ramsey of New Jersey (Republican).

I can not conscientiously say that at the present time the wishes of a majority of my constituents, either men or women, coincide with my own personal views, and I shall, therefore, in accordance with the promise made to the voters of the district, vote against this amendment.

—Representative Dallinger of Massachusetts (Republican).

I am in favor of the State of South Carolina giving suffrage to women. But we consider that the platform and pledge is something more than a scrap of paper, and I remind you today that we are at war because this nation has raised the banner that a contract and pledge between nations is something that must be respected and can not be discarded as a scrap of paper. If that is so, why should we as a party repudiate our platform and our instructions from the people of our State?

—Representative Stevenson of South Carolina (Democrat).

I have watched the suffrage movement at close range. I am very much opposed to the efforts made at the Capitol and elsewhere in the propaganda having for its purpose the adoption of the suffrage amendment. Large sums of money have been contributed, and have been and are to be expended, to bring about the adoption of said amendment. This method is objectionable and is corrupting in its nature. Threats have been uttered to me by suffragists that they would be present in my district and oppose my reelection next year. I am not disturbed by this threat. But I respectfully beg leave to state that I can not perform my duty as a Member of the House of Representatives in accordance with my oath of office by supporting this amendment, and I shall record my vote against it.

—Representative Greene of Massachusetts (Republican).

Under the Constitution of the United States no amendment is necessary to grant the right of suffrage to women. They have that right under the existing Constitution, the same as the men have that right. Then the only purpose of this amendment, the only purpose it can possibly serve, will be to compel or coerce some State to do that which it does not want to do. Now, there has been a time in this country when that word "coercion" did not sound very sweetly upon the ears of a large number of our people and, to my mind, the word is just as obnoxious today as it ever was to anyone. I do not believe that any State should be coerced or compelled to do that which its people do not want upon a question pertaining exclusively to its own affairs.

—Representative Mansfield of Texas (Democrat).

The Woman's Protest AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Published Monthly at
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The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
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President, Mrs. Jas. Wadsworth, Jr., Washington, D. C.
Treasurer, Miss Anne Squire.....Washington, D. C.

February, 1918



There are even greater words than Liberty, Equality and Rights. Lacordaire, during the revolution in France, dared to say to his countrymen: "You have written upon the monuments of your city the words Liberty, Fraternity, Equality. Above Liberty write Duty, above Fraternity write Humility, above Equality write Service, above the immemorial creed of your Rights inscribe the divine creed of your Duties."

THE PRESIDENT AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE POLICY

Until now, in all public utterances, the President has held to the view that suffrage was a question to be determined by the individual States and not by Federal action. No statement was forthcoming from the White House tonight to explain his present stand. Members of Congress who participated in the conference, however, said the President told them he still believed that the proper and orderly way of dealing with the question was to permit each State to take its own action. * * *

When his callers talked of the State rights' issue, the President is said to have told them he did not feel that this was the situation at all. That suffrage was a policy and not a principle.
—The New York World, Jan. 10, 1918.

THE President, in coming out for the Federal amendment as a "policy" greatly surprised and disappointed his friends among the anti-suffragists.

Probably the fault is somewhat our own. The President is a busy man. He has scant time to go very deeply into such questions at the present time, and must necessarily depend for his interpretation of public opinion largely upon his confidential advisers.

For several years, he has been surrounded by suffragists; by men and women who were ardent advocates and spokesmen for the "cause." Naturally, he has accepted their word for public opinion.

When the President was at Princeton, he was considered an anti-suffragist. Some of his friends among the "antis" secured great assistance from him in finding "literature" and "points" to use against the "cause." The first Mrs. Wilson was actually considering the acceptance of the presidency of the New Jersey Anti-Suffrage Association at one time.

When he became a candidate for President in 1912, he refused again and again to indorse the "cause." He polled a larger vote than Mr. Roosevelt—the only presidential advocate of suffrage—in every suffrage State but Oregon and California. He lost California by 156 votes.

The suffragists annoyed him time and again during his first administration. The antis did not annoy him at all. In 1915, when the suffragists published predictions that he would come out for woman suffrage, he positively denied the allegation in a letter to the then president of the National Anti-Suffrage Association, July, 1915. But in September of the same year, much to our surprise, he did indorse suffrage for New Jersey.

In 1916, the suffragists begged him again to come out for the Federal amendment. The "antis" sent him a pledge of war service—"The America First" resolution. He compromised with the suffragists, by having a "State rights" suffrage plank adopted by the Democratic Party at St. Louis. He did not even acknowledge receipt of the anti-suffrage pledge!

Mrs. Catt officially declared that the plank he approved gave the world the right to "justly accuse him of descending to the tricks of the cheapest politician," and that it would win for his party "the antagonism of millions of men and women voters."

Nevertheless, after this insult, the President spoke on the same platform with Mrs. Catt at the suffrage convention at Atlantic City, September, 1916.

In spite of Mrs. Catt's predictions, and the "Woman's Party," and Mr. Hughes' personal "Federal amendment" plank, the President carried every full suffrage State but Oregon.

But when the "antis" asked him to address their convention in Washington in 1916, he refused on the ground that it might create a precedent, and might lead to similar requests from other organizations.

After having gone to Atlantic City to speak on the same platform with a woman who had grossly insulted him, he refused an invitation to speak in Washington for the "antis" who had upheld his every act.

When he was inaugurated, the "Woman's Party" began its picketing. He had the sympathy of every decent American, and the whole-hearted support of every anti-suffragist.

But in one year those "pickets" so annoyed the President that he finally sent some one to make terms with their leader in prison!

When this story was first told by the "pickets" no anti-suffragist could believe it. The President himself was asked to deny it.

The antis had a right to disbelieve it. They rushed to his defense. They compiled into an expensive pamphlet numerous quotations from his text-book, "State and Federal Governments of the United States," wherein the President defends the *principles* of State rights far more eloquently than he has ever admitted the *policy* of passing the Federal amendment. These quotations and the "defense" were sent to the President. After his secretary acknowledged them, and he made no objections to their use, they were given to the press and sent to Congress.

But the "pickets" were right and we were mistaken. The President finally did exactly what they foretold he would do, and as it is a notable fact that the "pickets" have given up picketing for the stage ever since the visit from the President's representative to Miss Alice Paul in prison; as no one has ever denied the story, we were forced to acknowledge its truth.

Perhaps the acknowledgment might have been made in some better form than in the now famous apology to the pickets, but in justice to women—even picket women—whom we had mistakenly accused, some sort of an apology was necessary.

It is a pity that "picketing" prevailed with the President, but it is certainly no more opposed to public policy for the anti-suffragists to admit it than it was for the President himself to send some one to admit it to Miss Paul! The President is a wonderful man and makes few mistakes—but when he ignored the age-old proverb, and thought that the suffrage pickets could or would keep a secret—he was misled and so were we.

It must have been a great surprise to him, after all the suffrage predictions he has heard, to note the opposition to the amendment in the House, and that in spite of Mr. Cantrill's advice, ten of the twelve leading Democratic chairmen voted "No."

The President has a high-minded ideal of his position as the representative of the people. He expressed, in indorsing the Fed-

eral amendment, what he was led to think that the people wanted, rather than his own deepest convictions.

Should it be demonstrated to the President that the majority of the people are opposed to the Federal amendment, he would unhesitatingly change his policy. Since the vote in the House, it seems that he has somewhat modified it, at least to the extent of forgetting to congratulate Dr. Shaw on her birthday.

So may we not hope that when the anti-suffrage movement is thoroughly organized and in evidence in every State, the President will recognize his friends the anti-suffragists as part of the people whom he represents?

The "antis" did a great deal to elect the President. Anti-suffrage Ohio, the day before the presidential election in 1916, was conceded as "in the Republican column." There was but one prediction to the contrary, and that from a woman. That woman was then president of the Ohio Anti-Suffrage Association. She had just made a State-wide canvass of suffrage and anti-suffrage sentiment, showing 101,905 adult women opposed to suffrage and 7,103 in favor of it. Her canvassers had brought her in reports from all over the State that thousands of men would vote against Mr. Hughes because he indorsed Federal suffrage. On the occasion of the President's visit to Cleveland, she presented him with the canvass figures and with the prediction that he would win in Ohio. Some of the papers published the prediction as a joke—but the President carried Ohio.

Without Ohio's electoral votes, the President would have lost the election. Without the "Federal amendment" handicap, Mr. Hughes would have won Ohio and the Presidency!

Under these circumstances, it must be admitted that it was dubious "policy" for the President to indorse an amendment to the Constitution which cannot win him or his party anything, and which may rather break up the "Solid South."

Nor on the other hand, as a matter of "policy" can the Republicans afford to line up again with the radicalism which has been repudiated twice by the majority of Republican voters, and has cost the Republicans defeat in 1912 and 1916.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S change of base on the Federal suffrage amendment will give pain to multitudes of his warmest admirers wholly independent of their views on or interest in the woman suffrage issue.

Those who have followed Mr. Wilson sympathetically hitherto in his method of mastering the succession of new and constantly changing problems that have marked his strenuous period in the white house had learned to believe that when he had once planted himself on a principle as right in itself they could rely on his fidelity to the principle—that there would be no shadow of variableness of turning—whatever might be the modifications of policy with reference to it the changes of conditions should suggest and demand.

But Mr. Wilson has disappointed greater numbers than he may ever know by his abandonment of the principle that he formulated in the last campaign—the principle that was put in the party platform in his own words and by his express direction—that regulation of the suffrage was the function and right of the States severally to exercise and not a legitimate function of the Federal Government.

This principle if correct two years ago is correct to-day. There has been no change of conditions to radically affect it and prompt its overthrow, and in changing his position at the last moment and advising Congress differently from the mandate of his party, to which he had previously avowedly adhered, we are impelled to believe that the President succumbed in a moment of physical and mental relaxation and weakness in the midst of his unexampled labors and responsibilities and under the final importunity of a delegation of party Congressmen and reversed himself without observing his hitherto inflexible rule of a clear and reasoned conclusion. Perhaps among the few confused and illogical sentences that may be found in Mr. Wilson's state papers and utterances as President the following will become conspicuous as one of the least satisfactory:

"The committee found that the president had not felt at liberty to volunteer his advice to members of Congress in this important matter, but when we sought his advice he very frankly and earnestly advised us to vote for the amendment as an act of right and justice to the women of the country and of the world."

If the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment was "an act of right and justice to the women of the country and of the world," why should not the President have "felt at liberty to volunteer his advice to members of Congress?"

President Wilson has never before felt or exhibited, at least, any hesitation to volunteer his advice to Congress and members of Congress on "important" matters.

The one great, overshadowing interest of "the women of the country and of the world"—the paramount "act of right and justice" to them that dwarfs and should sidetrack any and every other issue affecting or menacing it in this critical moment for the women (more than for the rest of us) is the act of winning the war against the ruthless Huns, who have committed every conceivable and every unspeakable crime against womanhood, within and without the decalogue, and whose diabolical deception and hideous barbarities may even extend to the women of this country and the women of the world in its remotest corners if one vital mistake is made in the conduct of their defense. The crucial issue of the war is the only revolution of conditions that has occurred that could avail to overthrow the principle in question.

Now what argument or reason has been advanced by recent experience and the object lessons afforded by the victim nations of the Huns to date that the participation of women in the issues of the war has operated to the advantage of the champions of the women to retain their lives, their sex immunities and privileges, their right of consent to motherhood, their very belief in the existence of an all-wise, over-ruling and beneficent God whose ears are open to their confiding communion and to their agonized cries?

So far from the participation of women in affairs of government at this time contributing or promising to contribute to winning the war for the forces of freedom and humanity, it has proved a weakness wherever it has become a factor and unmanned, unsexed the nations and the natural defenders of the women themselves.

We cannot spare the space here to point out the instances of woman's fatal influence and interference to help the Hun to achieve his ends and do his dastardly work against all the things the women hold dear, but we are of the opinion from the foretaste we have had of the potentialities of politics to vitiate some of the sex type and drive them to mischief and unreason that there could not be made a more perilous experiment pending the crisis through which the country is passing than the injecting of women into practical politics.

—The Knoxville Sentinel, January 10, 1918.

SUFFRAGE AND THE SENATE

ANALYSIS of the vote whereby the Woman's Suffrage amendment passed the House of Representatives fails to justify the optimism of the leaders of that cause, who already see the senatorial acquiescence at hand and State ratification coming. On the contrary, it appears to indicate that the real struggle is ahead.

The Congressional delegations of twenty-eight States favored the amendment by at least a two-thirds majority; the delegations of twelve States opposed it by at least two-thirds, while delegations from the other eight were about evenly split. On the basis of a full attendance when the matter comes up in the Senate, sixty-four votes will be required to insure submission. The suffragists must not lose a single State that was with them in the House and must gain half of the doubtful eight. Yet only three of these eight gave even a bare majority for suffrage in the House.

—Philadelphia Evening Ledger, January 23, 1918.

A PUBLIC CHALLENGE TO MRS. CATT

THE PROTEST is able to make the official announcement that Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, is afraid to submit nation-wide woman suffrage to any sort of fair referendum, and moreover, is unwilling even to debate the subject in the press of the country. About a fortnight before the New York election, Mrs. Catt actually accepted an invitation to debate the question for that State. It was, of course, too late for it to be published before the election. Therefore on January 6, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage sent Mrs. Catt (and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw), a formal invitation to debate the question of the general adoption of woman suffrage under the auspices of the Press Forum, Inc., of New York, in a series of thirty articles on nine topics to be published throughout the country. After nearly a month's delay, Mrs. Catt on January 28, wrote to the National Association that she had not "heard anything" about this debate from the Press Forum—although she had once accepted it and written the Press Forum to that effect—and that "such a debate would be futile at this time" and "like speaking to a motion after it has been carried." Consequently, the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage sent Mrs. Catt on February 12, a formal public challenge—to which she has made no reply. The text of the challenge, in part, follows:

Both in your attitude of aversion to the debate now as a national question, and in your evasive assertions that "such a debate would be futile at this time" and "like speaking to a motion after it has been carried," you manifest a most remarkable contempt for facts, for fair play and for public opinion.

A proposition which must be submitted—and debated—in the United States Senate and in at least thirty-six State Legislatures to become law, can hardly be "carried" beforehand by the edict of a suffrage leader. All interest in the question of woman suffrage in the United States is not owned or controlled by the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

The rights of the people of America to decide this question, and to hear both sides of this question, are somewhat more important than the excuses you give for denying them these rights.

As you may recall, we invited you to debate the following topics, offering to make any changes or additions which might seem more adequate to you for the complete presentation of the subject:

1. Would the general adoption of Woman Suffrage be a Realization or Violation of Democracy?
2. Would Woman Suffrage Strengthen or Weaken Government?
3. Would Woman Suffrage result in Efficiency or Wastefulness?
4. Would Woman Suffrage result in Social Progress or Retrogression?
5. Would Woman Suffrage be a Gain or loss to Woman?
6. Would Woman Suffrage be an Advantage or an Injury to the Family?
7. Is Woman Suffrage a Normal or an Abnormal Demand?
8. Would Woman Suffrage Safeguard or Menace Morality?
9. Is Woman Suffrage a Promise or Peril to Posterity?

It can hardly be maintained that an adequate answer to the above questions is "of little interest to anyone."

Nor can we believe that as president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, upon mature reflection, you will publicly confess your incompetence to defend the affirmative side of such a discussion.

We may be mistaken. It may be that you are ready to admit to the American people that the organized violations of democracy practiced by the political machine of which you are president cannot be defended, and ought to be suppressed.

It may be that you are ready to announce the same attitude towards the right of the people and the States of this Union to self-government that the Foreign Secretary of the German Empire has announced in regard to "self-determination" for the conquered peoples of Poland, Courland, Lithuania, Livonia and Esthonia. He says:

"The decision of a representative body, expressed on broad principles, is infinitely more to the purpose than a referendum."

It may be that you are willing to acknowledge that you are in deadly parallel with Von Kuhlman. Your official testimony before the Woman Suffrage Committee of the House of Representatives is indeed sufficient to establish an absolute agreement. The official record shows that you flatly declared:

"We have come to the time when we no longer want a referendum, when we no longer will take a referendum, and when we therefore come to Congress and ask for a Federal amendment."

Before that Committee, you objected to submitting the amendment even to conventions of delegates chosen by the people; you objected to "submitting the question to the women of the country over 21 years of age." You objected to re-submission of the question to the men and women voters of New York State. You objected to any and all proposals to allow the American people, men or women, to register their own opinions on nation-wide woman suffrage.

It may be that Pan-Suffragism has introduced the methods of Pan-Germanism into American Politics. It may be, since the great State of New York was presented to the "cause" through the kindly co-operation of 145,000 socialists in New York City, that Pan-Suffragism seeks to pose as a conqueror on a "war-map" basis, without considering the fact that in New York State a spontaneous movement has developed, unique in political history, which will neither rest nor expire until the aroused people of the State secure, once more, the privilege of voting on the question of woman suffrage.

The majority of the people of the United States have not yet adopted or approved woman suffrage. There are still men and women who will not surrender to the new suffrage "frightfulness;" who believe in majority rule, in local self-government, and in the right of each State to settle this question for itself by popular vote.

We tell you frankly, and make the announcement formally, that the anti-suffrage movement henceforth will wage unceasing war against the two great enemies of our civilization—Feminism and Socialism. We shall enter every State, whether women vote or not, and support the men who, noting the symptoms of decline and degeneration, have the courage and the ability to apply a remedy.

If you are willing to admit that you are afraid to submit nation-wide woman suffrage to any kind of a popular referendum, or to any fair and open public discussion, you are free to assume that autocratic attitude.

But you are not free to pose prematurely as the sole and supreme judge of when suffrage has carried, or of how much the people shall know of the methods being used to carry it, or its effect on the nation if carried.

You are not free to frame flimsy excuses and evasions to conceal your real fear of public discussion. You are not authorized to decide that the public is "not interested" in this debate when an impartial press association is willing to undertake the publication of this debate both as a matter of public interest and as a cold business venture; when it is a fact that there has never been a public debate in the press of this country between the leading representatives of the suffrage and anti-suffrage movements of America; when there is no text-book or other source of accurate information where the sincere student may read *both* sides of this question presented in parallel by the leading authorities on both sides.

As president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, you are free to confess that your cause cannot maintain itself if submitted through referendum, or through fair and open public debate, to the men and women of America—but you can no longer conceal this fear if it is a fact.

We therefore hereby publicly challenge you to enter the public debate proposed, under the auspices of the Press Forum, Inc., of New York City, or to admit without equivocation that the methods, platform and principles of the woman suffrage movement cannot succeed if submitted in any fair way to the sound judgment of the American people; that your movement depends on methods of political "frightfulness" and concealment of the facts from the public.

(Signed) ALICE H. WADSWORTH,
(Mrs. James W., Jr.) President.

"FOR HOME AND NATIONAL DEFENSE, AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE, FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM"

By MRS. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.,

President, National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

WHEN the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage adopted the above title as the first plank in its platform, it proclaimed two fundamental truths that every sincere student, radical or conservative, must ultimately acknowledge:

1. Woman Suffrage, Feminism and Socialism are contrary to the interests of the Home, and a menace to the maintenance of Man-Power in Government.

2. Woman Suffrage, Feminism and Socialism are so intricately allied that the opponent of any one of these theories is logically forced to oppose all three.

Historically, politically, economically and socially, Woman Suffrage, Feminism and Socialism are similar in their destructive designs and their parallel programs and development. They are three branches of the same tree of Social Revolution.

Of course, the tree is advertised, as of old, as the "Tree of Knowledge." As of old, "Progress" is promised via the Impossible. As of old, the Woman is tempted first. She is told to eat of the tree—and men shall be as Gods and women shall be as Men.

The greatest differences in human nature—the difference between the sexes in physical abilities and liabilities and the difference between the values of individual labor—differences that God created as good, and Society has found essential, they attempt to deny and destroy by three theories:

1. Woman Suffrage—"The destruction of differences in sex in legislation."

2. Feminism—"The destruction of differences in sex in industry and all other laws and customs of society."

3. Socialism—"The destruction of private ownership of productive property."

All three theories are false and destructive. All three attempt to arouse sex against sex and class against class. All three consider the Family and the Home obstructions to their revolutionary Program. These are not mere assertions. They are facts backed by documentary evidence that cannot be quoted at length except in a large volume. (See "Socialism and Feminism," by Correa Moylan Walsh.)

A brief outline of the truth is seen clearly if we consider these three movements historically. The first woman in America to advocate suffrage for her sex was Frances Wright, communist, socialist and free-thinker. In 1825 she joined Robert Owen, the first English socialist, in the great communist colony at New Harmony, Indiana, which, in spite of the \$200,000 spent upon it, failed within two years.

The first persons to teach Feminism in Europe were Fourier and Saint-Simon, both socialists. Fourier bitterly attacked bourgeois marriage and proposed freer sex relations. Marx and Engels demanded "freedom" for women. Engels blamed the "Private Family" as the origin of "Private Property." August Bebel, another socialist, concluded that marriage had developed from property relations and was not suited to modern economic relations.

From the time when Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright led the American suffrage movement to the present day, there has never been a period when socialists were not actively engaged in the propaganda for suffrage. Max Eastman, editor of the suppressed "Masses," was first secretary and organizer of the New York Men's League for Woman Suffrage. From the time of Owen and Frances Wright down to the present, socialists, including Debs, Hillquit, Eastman and lesser radicals, have spoken in the homes and on the platforms of the most "conservative" advocates of "votes for women."

The leaders of the Woman Suffrage movement have been no less bitter in their denunciation of marriage and the home than Fourier, Engels, Bebel, Frances Wright and Max Eastman.

We are told in the official History of Woman Suffrage, edited by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, that:

"The condition of married women, under the laws of all countries, has been essentially that of slaves."

"The isolated household [Suffragist for 'Home!'] is responsible for a large share of woman's ignorance and degradation. . . . The advantages of the few whose fortunes enable them to make the isolated household a more successful experiment cannot outweigh the difficulties of the many who are wholly sacrificed to its maintenance."

Susan B. Anthony, while presiding at what Horace Greeley called the "Easy Divorce" convention of suffragists in 1860—the first organized demand for easier divorce in America—said:

"Marriage has ever been a one-sided matter resting most unequally upon the sexes. By it man gains all and woman loses all, tyrant law and lust reign supreme with him—meek submission and ready obedience alone befit her. Woman has never been consulted, her wish has never been taken into consideration as regards the terms of the marriage compact."

What is "woman's" wish regarding the terms of marriage? Fifty-five years later, in 1915, we find Beatrice Forbes Robertson Hale, a suffrage leader, thus again expressing it in "What Women Want":

"A woman whose temperament has urged her into an irregular union may be obeying her own inner law, and may be, in all but conventional reputation, a highly moral person. Feminists are inclined to believe that marriages should be less lightly entered into than at present and more easily terminated. My own view is that divorce without detriment to the standing of either party is the solution towards which we are drawing, and I find this view shared by the great mass of feminists with whose words or writings I have come in contact."

These teachings have borne their fruit in an increased divorce rate and a decreased birth rate. While 80 per cent of our women marry, and 4.1 children are born per married woman in the country at large, only 50 per cent of the graduates of women's colleges marry and only 1.7 children are born per married graduate.

This is no indictment of "education" for women. It is an indictment of the tendency of modern educators to glorify the "career" of the male sex as greater than the mission of motherhood.

Yet in spite of some of our women's colleges and suffragists who largely use them to exploit their propaganda, there is still one line of defense. Do not give these women political power over the mothers of the race.

Three million of our twenty-four million adult women are prospective or nursing mothers, who can not take an active part in politics. Twenty million women are mothers, caring for thirty million children in seventeen million homes. They are not free to become the "political equals" either of men or of radical women: they cannot, or should not, leave home and children to win and fill political office; they will, in the vast majority of cases, refuse to accept the inappropriate duty of voting imposed on them against their will and over their protests.

Thus Woman Suffrage places a premium on the woman who is doing least as a woman; it holds out office and power to the politically ambitious women, the childless women, while actually decreasing the value of the father's vote, which can best represent the interests of the family. Will radical suffragist and socialist women in the Legislatures and Congress represent the mothers of the race better than the fathers of their children? They will not. They will represent the ideals, aspirations and theories of Feminism; taking advantage of their sex when they desire, to claim what they want as "women," and denying their sex, when they desire, as "man's equal."

What kind of Government will we have if the Suffragists, Socialists, Feminists, Pacifists and Radicals of both sexes double their political power, especially in the great cities—while the Conservatives, Democrats and Republicans are not only divided and largely cancelling each other's votes, but unable to get the majority of their women to the polls, especially the women on the farms?

Woman Suffrage has been defeated sixteen times at the polls in the last five years. Why? Because the majority of the Democratic and Republican voters, knowing that the women of their own families do not desire and will not exercise the suffrage, have voted "No."

Even more significant is the fact that the three victories for woman suffrage during that period—Montana, Nevada and New York—were directly due to socialist votes.

Diagram of Official New York Vote, Proving Women Socialism and that Majority of Democrats and Republicans

"Every Socialist is a Suffragist"

—OFFICIAL SOCIALIST PARTY BANNER BORNE IN WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARADES.

"1,000,000 Socialists Vote and Work"

—OFFICIAL SOCIALIST PARTY BANNER USED CONVENTIONS OF NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN

New York City (Five Boroughs: Manhattan

VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS—206,311

1915

MANHATTAN—76,873

BROOKLYN—77,182

BRONX—27,312

VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS—208,334

1917

MANHATTAN—78,236

BROOKLYN—80,721

BRONX—22,286

VOTE AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS—249,803

1917

MANHATTAN—82,124

BROOKLYN—82,315

NOTE: In 1915, the Anti-Suffragists Won New York City by 82,755 Majority and the State

New York State (Including New York City

VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS—507,404

1915

"UP STATE"—301,093

VOTE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS—507,892

1917

"UP STATE"—299,558

VOTE AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS—600,776

1917

"UP STATE"—290,578

"Socialism and suffrage, inseparable companions in revolutionary political thought and action, have triumphed in the election in New York City and state."

—The New York Call, Official Socialist Organ.

"We have secured the vote to the women of the State. In the returns, the subject has ceased to be one of speculation and mathematical demonstration. The 150,000 votes which we gained in the defeat of two years ago into a decisive victory this year, decisive numbers and heaviest from precisely the same districts as the heaviest socialist pluralities."—Morris Hillquit, Socialist Candidate

Woman Suffrage Carried by N. Y. City Converts to Republicans, in City & State, Voted Against Suffrage

"Work for Woman Suffrage"

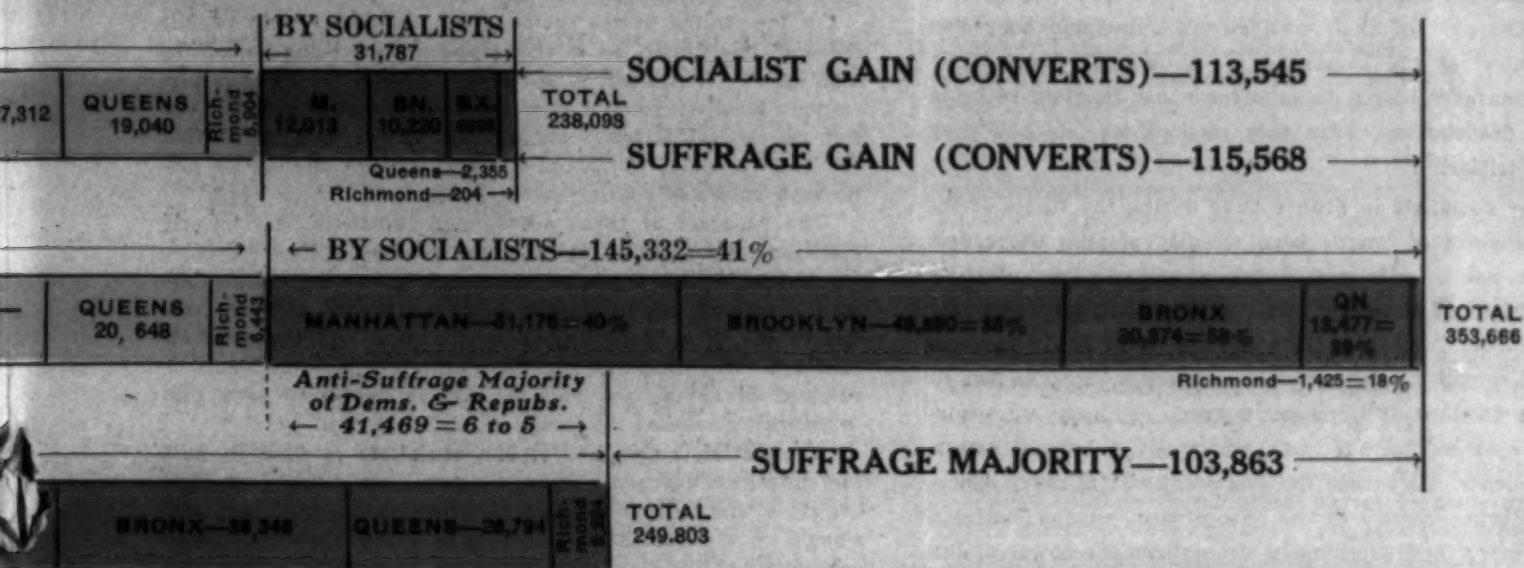
USED IN SUFFRAGE PARADES AND
N WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

"We Welcome Every Socialist Vote"

—DR. ANNA HOWARD SHAW, HONORARY PRESIDENT
NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens and Richmond)

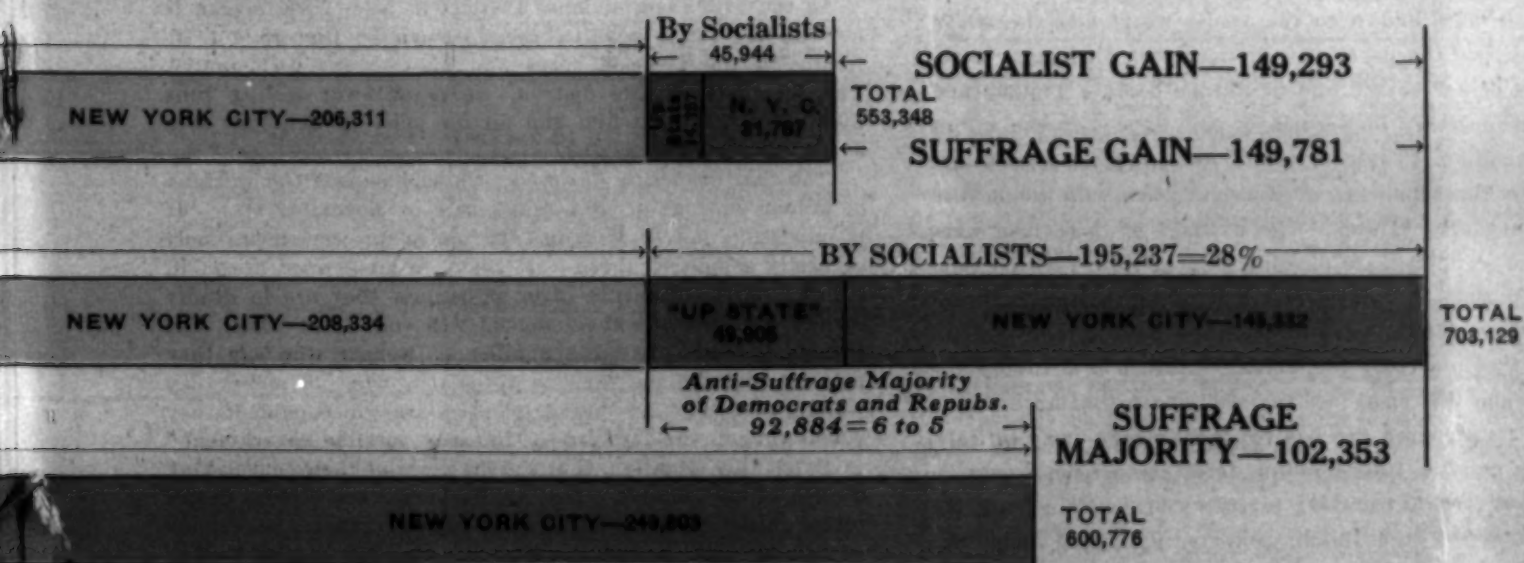
SCALE, 1/25 INCH=1,000



State by 194,984 Majority. In 1917, the Anti-Suffragists won the State Down to the City Line.

City as Indicated)

SCALE, 1/50 INCH=1,000



State. Now that we have the election
and has become a matter of mathe-
matics in the State of New York turned
this year, and these votes have come in
some districts which have given us the
Socialist Candidate for Mayor of N. Y. City.

"Since the election of Mayor in 1913, the socialist vote in New York has increased
by 110,000. It is, therefore, clear that the victory for suffrage in this election is largely
due to the socialist vote, since this vote in New York City alone would have been
enough to swing the majority to the side of suffrage."

—The Suffragist, Official Organ of National Woman's Party.

SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM, THE KAISER'S ALLIES

By MRS. MARGARET C. ROBINSON.
President, Public Interests League of Massachusetts.

SINCE long before the beginning of the Great War, socialism had been working quietly and unsuspected to prepare the way for a German victory when "Der Tag" should arrive. German socialists always figured prominently at the International Congresses of Socialists held in European countries. They preached eloquently the brotherhood of the workers in all lands, declared war had become impossible because the workingmen, by standing shoulder to shoulder, could prevent it, and were loud in their promises to refuse to fight. The socialists of other lands believed them, opposed preparedness on the part of their own governments, and suspected nothing until at the beginning of the war they saw their German comrades march in solid lines into Belgium to bring ruin and devastation. Then they realized too late how they had been tricked.

Certain Socialists in France have during the whole of the last three years of horror been steadily playing Germany's game. It would have seemed that the martyrdom of their country might have moved them to pity, but they seemingly share the ruthlessness of their German comrades. Through the socialist paper called the *Bonnet Rouge*, now known to have been financed by Germany, a group of clever, unscrupulous men have worked subtly but untiringly to spread treason in the trenches, discourage the soldiers, block military operations and bring victory to the advocates of woman suffrage, which in every land enormously strengthens the power of the socialists. These men are trapped at last and safely guarded behind prison walls, and France is delivered from this group of enemies within her gates.

The ruin wrought in Russia by the propaganda of German socialists is now known to the whole world and the whole world must pay the penalty. America must send many thousand more of her boys to die in Europe because Trotsky and Lenine, undoubtedly in Germany's pay, have won the ear of Russia's soldiers. These agitators talk eloquently of peace, while they fill the streets of Russian cities with the bodies of their murdered victims. The writings of these men were sold at the socialist mass meeting held in New York on Sunday, November 25th, to celebrate the suffrage victory. Socialists know, even if conservative suffragists close their eyes to the fact, that a victory for woman suffrage is a victory for socialism, and this mass meeting was held to celebrate it.

Socialists prepared the way for the Kaiser's army in Italy, and made possible Italy's recent defeat. Austrian socialists had been at work with their pacifist propaganda among the more ignorant of the Italian soldiers, promising them not to fight if the Italians would also refuse battle. When this pacifist poison had done its work, the Austrian troops who had thus prepared the soil were withdrawn and replaced by German troops who drove the deceived and demoralized Italians back to their plains, and again greatly improved Germany's chances of winning the war.

It is to be remembered that in every country woman suffrage and socialism go hand in hand. In Russia woman suffrage was adopted when the Bolsheviks came into power. According to dispatches from Ambassador Francis, in Petrograd, these men are now murdering the women troops whom they have made their "political equals." Finland adopted woman suffrage and socialism soon followed. The country is entirely in the hands of the Reds, and marauding bands are roving the country, pillaging and murdering at will. In Italy the suffrage movement has no independent existence—it is very frankly what it is in reality everywhere, merely a part of the socialist movement.

In the United States socialism is gaining strength rapidly since it has drawn to it the support of German-Americans who look to it to favor a pro-German peace. It was the pro-German-socialist vote in New York City which brought victory to the suffragists. An analysis of the vote shows that the suffrage gain, the socialist gain and the number of pro-German voters is similar in every borough in New York.

The program of these pro-German socialists was frankly stated at the socialist mass meeting held in New York on November 25th to celebrate the suffrage victory. Assemblyman Shiplacoff, one of the ten socialists elected on November 6th to the New York Legislature, said: "Our program is sabotage. We intend to do all the damage possible," and he rejoiced in having ten men in the legislature to back him in throwing monkey wrenches into the machinery.

The national program of the socialists is first to help the suffragists force the Federal suffrage amendment through Congress, and then to demand a referendum to both men and women on the war, hoping thereby to bring about chaos and confusion which will make a successful conduct of the war impossible. For this they need the help of their women as voters. In New York with the aid of German-American men, the socialist vote increased four-fold at the last election. In Chicago, with women voting, it increased seven-fold.

In the 14th Congressional District in New York, a plan is now under foot to penalize Congressman La Guardia for enlisting in the aviation corps and fighting for his country. The socialists in this district, where anti-war feeling runs high, plan to unseat him and fill his place in Congress with a feminine pacifist-socialist!

The San Francisco *Chronicle*, which has seen the working of woman suffrage at close range, said on November 8th: "It is impossible not to recognize that votes for women are most earnestly sought by those least likely to make good use of it. All the radical elements favor it because they are in deadly earnest and are sure their women will vote every time. The trouble is with the large number of women who say they did not and do not wish to vote, and, what is more, they won't. And they are mainly of the class who would, if they voted, vote in the interests of the best possible government."

Given this situation, that the majority of the home-making women of the country refuse to discharge the political duties forced upon them against their wishes; that the radical women all vote, as they surely will; that the radical vote is socialist, pacifist, pro-German vote which will be used in every way to hamper our government in its conduct of the war—to "throw monkey wrenches into the machinery," as Assemblyman Shiplacoff aptly expressed it—given these circumstances and it becomes clear that the Kaiser has in the United States two allies more powerful than Bulgaria or Turkey, namely, woman suffrage and socialism.

THE REPEAL OF SUFFRAGE IN NEW YORK

ON January 8, 1918, there was born at Albany, New York, a spontaneous movement unique in political history. In the whole history of the elective franchise, there has been nothing like it.

Three hundred delegates from nineteen Congressional districts of New York State met at the Ten Eyck Hotel and unanimously adopted the following fair and democratic resolutions:

Whereas, We maintain that the proposition was carried by default and by the foreign, pacifist, socialist vote in New York City, and that it was New York City that imposed woman suffrage on New York State; and

Whereas, A referendum to women has frequently been urged in this State in order that women themselves might decide whether or not the ballot be conferred upon them, and this has always been opposed by suffragists; and

Whereas, It is logical that this should be our first legislative appeal to voters, and only reasonable that we be afforded this opportunity; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the enfranchised women of New York State who oppose woman suffrage, demand a resubmission of this measure in order that now, at last, women themselves may register their will on this question; and be it further

Resolved, That we procure the introduction in the Legislature of the State of New York of such a concurrent resolution, and that our efforts be directed to secure favorable action thereon that the women of the State, as well as the men of the State, may express their views at as early a date as possible upon this important question.

On January 28, a second great meeting was held at the Biltmore, New York City, at which five hundred men and women from all parts of the State adopted a program which has set in motion the machinery to perfect a great political body of men and women, organized in every election district to repeal woman suffrage in New York. Mr. Henry A. Wise Wood, president of the Aero Club of America, presided. In closing his address, Mr. Wood said: "Just ask yourselves this question: If it were left to William II to decide whether the women of America should have the vote, what would he say?"

"The American Bolsheviks are running away with woman suffrage," Mr. Wood said. "The turmoil of revolution and violence in Russia will end in the return of autocracy, in my opinion, and where will the Bolsheviks of Russia find a home then? They will come here by the millions, and with them will come their women, who will have the vote. We have let the wilful sisterhood set the house on fire. We must put it out. The suffrage party has created a Frankenstein. This creature will not only destroy them but will also destroy us and our country. They secured the ballot by the might of the American Bolsheviks, the socialists, and they would if they dared destroy our property and our Government, for they came to this country not to advance its welfare but to satisfy their own desires."

Hon. Charles S. Fairchild, former Secretary of the Treasury, said:

"It is up to you women to save the country. I consider that on the whole, our society and our country are going to be safer under the influence of anti-suffrage women than under that of all other women. You will have to make many sacrifices; you who have been giving time to this great war work will have to give up some of that, otherwise your war work will be absolutely useless."

"It is imperative that the women participate in the primaries in order to send men to Albany and Washington who will work for repeal of the suffrage law."

Miss Minnie Bronson presented a diagram proving that the pacifists and socialists carried woman suffrage in New York, and

that the majority of the Democratic and Republican voters of the State were still opposed to suffrage. She urged the support of anti-suffrage candidates.

"We do not believe in reprisals," said Miss Bronson, "but if you send a good anti-suffragist to Albany or to Washington, you not only honor him but you do the best thing for the interests of the country. Let us see that a man who represents us is Governor."

At the conclusion of the meeting, telegrams and resolutions were sent to the United States Senate and to members of the New York Legislature.

Since the meeting, New York State has re-organized in a way that means success. There will be no more "women's club against a political party," as one man described the old organization against suffrage in New York. The anti-suffragists of New York State are re-organizing along political lines.

Every Judicial District, every Assembly District, every election district will be organized under the leadership of a responsible person. At least 100 voters in every election district will be formed into an active force by which every other voter in the district can be reached. There will be no more "catch as catch can" campaigns to reach the anti-suffrage voters of New York State. When there is an anti-suffrage leader in each of the 8,000 election districts of the State, and 800,000 persons are making an intensive effort to bring the facts to public attention—who can doubt woman suffrage will be submitted again to popular vote in New York State—and repealed! Over 600,000 men voted *against* suffrage last November. And less than 300,000 pieces of "literature" were sent out in that campaign. As there were several pieces sent to one address in many cases, it is likely that less than 200,000 voters in New York State actually received *any* anti-suffrage literature last year. If the "antis" can carry the State down to the City Line, and poll 600,000 votes without reaching more than one third that number of voters—what will they not be able to do when they have a complete political organization, backed by 800,000 active workers?

THE TRIBUNE LIKES THEM!

THERE is a good deal in the notion that it does not make nearly as much difference which side you take on a subject so long as you take some side—so long, that is to say, as you are not a mere lazy, passive resister. The Tribune has a real liking for the attitude of the *anti-suffragists* of this state who propose to fight the ballot with all the power that the ballot gives them. They are going into the primaries, they are going to do the things that men voters ought to do and do not, in order to elect legislators who will vote for the repeal of votes for women.

If suffrage cannot stand such opposition, it is wrong and will be repealed. If it is right, the work of these opponents will demonstrate its rightness and strengthen the cause. There seems to us far more danger to the future of women in the indifference of some of their sex than in all the anti-suffragists. It is the indifferent male voter, too careless to go to a primary, too forgetful to register, too lazy to vote, who has done more than any other factor to limit the effectiveness of male suffrage. Woman suffrage is threatened by the same indifference.

More power to the fighting anti-suffragists! We wish they were pro. But at any rate they are con. And that is a whole lot better for everybody concerned than that they should turn away from their new obligations with a yawn of indifference.

—New York Tribune, Jan. 30, 1918

CARDINAL REPEATS ANTI-SUFFRAGE CONVICTIONS

HIS EMINENCE, JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS, the head of the Catholic Church in America, has repeatedly stated that he is unalterably opposed to woman suffrage. At the first annual convention of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, in December, 1916, Cardinal Gibbons sent a personal representative to convey a message to the Association, which was printed in full in *THE WOMAN'S PROTEST* of January, 1917.

Notwithstanding the venerable prelate's reiterated opposition to suffrage, the advocates of the "cause" have frequently attempted by every means in their power to lead the public to believe that the Cardinal had changed his earlier views. During the last campaign, for instance, Cardinal Gibbons' picture was exploited by the suffrage organs on two occasions in connection with a cleverly designed "story" to suggest—without actually stating—that the Cardinal had "gone over" to the support of suffrage, simply because he had courteously received a delegation of suffragists, who confess that they begged him "not to give any more aid and comfort to the anti-suffragists."

The Cardinal, however, while courteous to the representatives of either side of the question, emphatically re-states his position in

the following letter to Mrs. Oscar Leser, President of the Maryland Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, dated January 18, 1918:

MRS. OSCAR LESER, PRESIDENT

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION:

My dear Mrs. Leser:

I regret to write to say that many engagements prevent my being present at the meeting of your Association to be held Tuesday, January 22.

I cannot, however, allow the opportunity to pass without repeating what I have said on occasions without number, that I am unalterably opposed to woman suffrage.

Many social and political evils, I am convinced, would follow, not the least of which would be the lowering of the dignity of woman, queen in the social kingdom.

I trust the meeting on Tuesday will be a source of encouragement to the members of the Association, as well as an inspiration to its energetic President.

Faithfully yours,

J. (CARDINAL) GIBBONS.

As the Cardinal is *out of politics*, and upholds permanent principles rather than temporary so-called "policies," it would seem that the suffragists should now be ready to admit that he is one of the men they can neither terrorize nor "convert."

MAINTAIN AMERICAN MORALE

THE Hearings before the Woman Suffrage Committee of the House of Representatives were, of course, arranged as much as possible for the benefit of the "cause." However, they enabled the anti-suffragists to present and prove some fundamental principles and many striking facts. The most notable—as well the shortest—address made to the committee was the following, by Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

Washington, D. C., Monday, January 7, 1918.

Mrs. Wadsworth:—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I am not going to take much of your time, and I am going to speak largely on an old-fashioned topic of conviction. For the last few months I have been doing a good deal of work for the War Work Council of the Young Women's Christian Association. As a hard-hearted and stiff-necked "anti," I am not supposed to take any interest in women or their conditions, but I find myself intensely interested, particularly in this branch of that work. The keynote of that organization and of the Y. M. C. A. is the upbuilding and the upholding of the morale, not only of our fighting forces, but of the civil population of the country, and, as I have learned to understand the meaning of that word, morale is that intangible and invaluable element composed of equal portions of conscience and backbone, and, to my mind, the true meaning of the word "demoralization" has come to be the loss or breaking down of that morale, and the shortest cut to that sort of demoralization is by the surrender of principle, whether through fear or favor.

This morning in the *Washington Post* I came across this article:

DEFEAT OF SUFFRAGE DECLARED SUICIDE—DEMOCRATS ARE WARNED BY CANTRILL—HOUSE MAY BE LOST.

Representative Cantrill, of Kentucky, is out with a warning to his Southern colleagues that if they vote against the pending Woman Suffrage resolution, Southerners may be driven from control of committee chairmanships, with a possibility that the domination of Congress itself may be handed back to the Republicans.

Then follows an article in quotation marks by Mr. Cantrill, saying that almost every committee chairmanship is held by Southern Democrats, and that if these Democrats vote against the Federal amendment, there is a possibility that the suffrage States may

retaliate in some way, and that they will possibly lose control in the legislature.

This heading of political suicide is a very familiar one to me. That possibility has been dinned into my ears ever since I began to take an active part in this Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. I have been told that any opposition to suffrage meant political suicide. Of course, that was directed against my husband rather than myself, but it included me naturally. In my mind the only man or nation that deserves to survive is the one who would prefer death to dishonor, and the only man worthy the name of man is the one who would prefer political death rather than a shameful surrender of principle.

We antis have no personal quarrel with those of you who uphold suffrage because you honestly believe in its benefits. Of course, we try to convert you, we try to convince you that you are *wrong* and we are right, but we never have and never will ask a man to vote with us against his own conscience. But the men we do blame are those spineless opportunists who, for political expediency or because they are too lazy to fight, are proposing to surrender their principles for the sake of a dishonorable and, we believe, a temporary peace.

There must be some such men in Congress, or the present method of suffrage attack would be utterly without point. The men who already believe in their cause need not be bullied into voting for it. The men who do not believe in it can certainly not be converted to the belief by this political highwaymanry, so if they vote for the amendment they must be voting against their belief and as a direct result of the suffrage threat to carry out their rule-or-ruin policy. Also, if the suffragists had enough votes to pass the bill without using such methods, is it reasonable to suppose that they would have so lowered themselves as to resort to such methods?

And can any legislation forced through Congress in such fashion be for the good of the country? At the outset of this terrible war three years ago the whole civilized world was horrified by the cruelty and baseness of the German methods of warfare, but the majority of them believed that public opinion roused and righteous indignation would very soon bring Germany back to more ethical standards. That hope was utterly futile; it was vain.

Instead of that, the methods continued and the result was that instead of changing the methods of Germany's warfare, it simply changed public opinion as to such warfare, and my belief is that one of the blackest crimes that can be charged to Germany is the gradual callousing and hardening of the hearts and minds of the general public until now the majority of them feel that no deed is too dastardly, no breach of faith too flagrant, no crime too cruel, too wicked, too hideous, to be justified by the casual observation that this is war. If these methods prevail and win the world for their creators, shall we even learn to praise them for their efficacy? God forbid! And yet millions of people at this time believe that the only salvation of the world lies in Germany's winning of this war. Are they right or wrong? Is it not reasonable and fair to judge the merits of a cause by the methods used in fighting for it? I am the daughter of a man who gave his life for his Government; I am the daughter-in-law of a man who for twenty-two years was an honored member of this body; I am the wife of a man who for six years was in the lower house of the New York Legislature, and who is now in the Senate of the United States, so during my lifetime I have seen a good deal and heard more of politics. I have known cases of party retaliation, withdrawal of patronage, the passage of legislation by the victorious party to which the defeated party was opposed; but as far as my experience goes it has been left to an association of women assembled in annual convention to pledge half a million dollars and to organize committees all through the country for the express purpose of hounding out of public office every man who dares oppose them by voting against this amend-

ment, and the worst feature of it, to my mind, is that there has been no protest against this announced intention. The public have been gradually led to feel that that is a perfectly natural method of procedure, especially where the question of woman suffrage is involved.

Do you feel that this is a healthy state of mind to lead the public into? Do you not care enough about the cause yourselves to be unwilling that it should be won by such methods? When my people in my Association have told you how suffrage carried in New York State, you have not believed, or you have said you have not. Now, your own people are telling you how this thing is going to be carried through Congress. Do you believe what they tell you, or are you going to stand for it, and will you be a part of such a victory? Gentlemen, I predict that if this amendment passes through the House at this time, that when the tumult and the shouting dies and you have time to stop and think about it, you will realize that not your own good selves but the ignominious surrender of our former allies will be responsible. If you believe the theory of woman suffrage is right, work for it. If you believe the Federal amendment is fair, vote for it; but for God's sake, and I make the invocation reverently and solemnly, do not break down the morale of our American people by convincing them that these proposed methods of coercion and terrorizing can prevail in their own Congress.

Copies of the Hearings complete, from the official record, may be obtained from the office of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

MENACE OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN NEW YORK

THE following extracts from an appeal for funds issued by The Americanization Committee of the New York State and New York City Woman Suffrage Party, Headquarters 303 Fifth Ave., New York City, present an old anti-suffrage argument:

DO YOU KNOW

"That foreign born women become citizens of our country simply by virtue of their husbands' citizenship or his naturalization. Only single foreign born women can apply for citizenship in their own right.

"That in order to become a citizen a foreign born man has to meet five tests; He must speak English; he must be of good character; he must have lived here five years; he must show that he is 'attached to the principles of the constitution;' and he must take the oath of allegiance.

"That his wife becomes a citizen automatically without meeting any of these requirements. In New York State the Suffrage Amendment does provide that she must have lived here five years in order to vote in this State.

"That there are in the State of New York at least four hundred thousand foreign born women who have thus automatically become citizens—*regardless even of their own wish or intention.*

"That there are 200,000 in the Greater City alone.

"That many thousands of these women do not speak English, and that many thousands also are illiterate in their own language. We have only the 1910 census figures to guide us, but these show that in 1910 there were 291,598 foreign born women unable to speak English in New York State; 224,982 of them were in New York City.

"There were 198,679 foreign born women in the State absolutely illiterate in any language, 147,857 of them in New York City.

"That in addition to these hundreds of thousands of women whose husbands are naturalized, there is about an equal number of women married to men not yet naturalized but eligible to be-

come citizens, thus enfranchising their wives, and making them voters.

" * * * many of these immigrant women voters are so ignorant of America that they fail utterly to understand the real American purpose in this war—or why America should be at war at all. They do not understand the American part in the world war for democracy, and help immeasurably to create a sentiment against it, etc., etc."

This is the old Anti-Suffrage argument that the public would not heed in time.

BEFORE 1924!

BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, declared that giving women the vote will help his organization tremendously in future strikes. The Ladies' Waist and Dressmakers Union No. 25 of New York City, with 25,000 members. "These girls believe in suffrage because they are even more vigorous than the men in the conduct of strikes."

"With the working women of New York enfranchised it will eventually be of tremendous benefit to the socialist party, because all of its adherents will be expected to vote faithfully each election. Many working women will have to be naturalized before they can vote. This means that the great bulk of New York women can not vote before the election of 1924 . . . However, after that date the socialist party in this city will be unbeatable . . .

"It is estimated, also, that with women having the right to vote, it will be much more difficult to lead the country into war. Suffrage is regarded by many radicals as the greatest step toward peace that could have been made.

"Every tribute has been paid to the socialist suffrage workers by the suffrage organization. . . they have held meetings for the cause in which no other but a socialist woman could reach the crowds."—New York Call, socialist organ, Nov. 7, 1917 (the day after election).

THE TRUTH ABOUT SUFFRAGE IN ENGLAND

THE action of the British Parliament, in allowing 6,000,000 women over thirty years of age, who are the wives of voters, or local government electors, to vote for members of Parliament, was immediately seized upon by the advocates of woman suffrage as an example that should be followed by prohibiting the States of the Union from denying suffrage on account of sex. A letter from the president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, drawing this false analogy, was sent to Senator Shafroth of Colorado, and read into the Congressional Record on February 14. Mrs. James W. Wadsworth, Jr., president of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, points out the errors in the suffrage analogy, and gives the facts suppressed by the suffragists, in the following letter to Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, who, though a believer in woman suffrage, says he "cannot conceive of a State, or of anything of sufficient dignity to be called a State, which has lost the right to say who shall vote for its State officers."

SENATOR WILLIAM E. BORAH,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR:

Knowing that you, a believer in Woman Suffrage, have always held that the proposed Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution is a violation of the fundamental principles upon which the United States were established; and knowing that as a fair-minded member of the Senate, you are unwilling to have any false analogy presented on any important measure—I beg to lay before you certain facts in relation to the recent passage of the Representation of the People Bill by the British House of Lords which have not been mentioned by those persons in our own country who are exploiting this action of our ally, in so far as it affects women, as an example which America should follow, by robbing each sovereign State of this Union of its right to settle the question of suffrage for itself by popular vote.

1. The bill adopted by the British Parliament does not confer full suffrage upon the 14,000,000 adult women in the British Isles. It confers the national or parliamentary suffrage upon 5,200,000 wives of voters and upon some 800,000 other women who have

qualified as university electors and local government electors; and it further limits the extension of suffrage to women 30 years of age or over.

2. The British Parliament does not, in this bill or otherwise, curtail or destroy the right of certain provinces of the British Empire, or of local governments in England, to adopt or withhold suffrage in local affairs on account of sex.

3. No elections are to be held under this act until after the present war.

4. Should the act have evil results, it may be modified, abridged, or repealed by act of Parliament—without any of the almost unsurmountable difficulties which accompany an attempt to repeal an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, however bad its effects may be.

It appears, therefore, that while the Susan B. Anthony Amendment demands an absolute repudiation of local self-government in the United States, Great Britain recognizes and extends the right of local self-government to its smallest provinces.

In one of your speeches on this amendment, you say:

"I cannot conceive of a State, or of anything of sufficient dignity to be called a State, which has lost the right to say who shall vote for its State officers. . . . Popular government is a delusion, a pretense, without the principle of local self-government."

This nation would indeed stand convicted of hypocrisy, or stupidity, if, while preaching the doctrine of democracy to all the world, it destroyed at home the spirit and the safeguards of its own democracy.

As a matter of fact, the example which the advocates of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment cite proves the contentions of its opponents. A Federated Empire, ever extending rather than restricting "Home Rule," becomes a magnificent appeal to Congress to allow this nation to continue in its true title to the name of "United States," and never to substitute therefor the words "Imperial Republic" by robbing the sovereign States of the most important right they now possess—that of "self-determination" of their electorates.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) ALICE H. WADSWORTH,
President, National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

REPRESENTING NEW YORK IN THE SENATE

MRS. JAMES LEES LAIDLAW, prominent New York Suffrage leader, is reported as saying recently before the Rotary Club of New York:

"Hundreds of thousands of women in New York State are feeling keenly a certain sense of disgrace for the Great Empire State, that it should face the prospect of having only half representation when the final vote on the Federal Amendment is taken. This is because New York has one representative in the Senate, Senator Wadsworth, who at present is not furthering the vote for Federal Amendment."

Too bad, isn't it? But if certain New York women feel disgraced because one senator from their State refuses to vote according to their wishes, how does she think the women of Maine feel, who after their State had given a two to one victory for the anti-suffragists only last November, saw every representative from their State vote for the Federal Suffrage Amendment in direct opposition to the wishes of their constituents? How does she think Ohio women feel about the vote of the Ohio representatives who voted for the amendment in face of three smashing suffrage defeats by the people in Ohio?

Mrs. Laidlaw continued:

"It is the thing that New York men and women alike resent—that after the overwhelming victory of November 6, a New York Senator could still feel free to vote against the Federal Amendment."

But she forgets that that "overwhelming" (?) victory was not a victory for the Federal Amendment—the people of New York having never voted on that question! They voted merely on granting the vote to the women of their own state; even this was defeated "up State" and only the foreign socialist vote in New York City carried it through. She forgets in her "resentment" that the New York Senator was elected by antis and still represents a State which has never endorsed the Federal Amendment. She laments that "it almost seems like a break down of our representative system of government." And yet it has been the persistent effort of Mrs. Laidlaw's sister suffragists for years to bring about just such a break down of "our representative system!" They have worked in season and out of season for this, and have openly preached the doctrine that Representatives should not represent their constituents if these constituents were opposed to suffrage. If our Government had still been "representative" the Federal Suffrage bill would never have passed the House of Representatives. The break down of the system is directly due to the demoralizing influence of the suffragists themselves, and it will deceive no one to have their leaders shed crocodile tears over the result when it happens not to work to their advantage.—M. C. R.

WASHINGTON NEWS AND NOTES

By MRS. GEORGE F. RICHARDS

IT looks somewhat as though the suffrage vote in the House had not brought forth much fruit after all. We hear but little of it and that little is of a character which indicates that a number of men who voted in favor of the amendment did so to get rid of it.

"I felt certain," said one of the Congressmen, "that the amendment will not pass the Senate and will not be ratified by the States, and that it was safe for us to get rid of it and settle down to war work, which is the great duty before us at this session." Suffragists put out claims that they have secured a sufficient number of votes in the Senate to pass the amendment, but there is absolutely no evidence that they can back up those claims. All polls still show a shortage of from four to seven votes, according to the way the "doubtfuls" are counted. It's a pretty safe guess that with a packed committee in favor of the amendment not a moment will be lost in calling for a vote when the suffragists feel even tolerably secure, and that until such a time comes the amendment will continue to take a long nap in the pigeon-hole of the chairman's desk. But the lack of interest is very noticeable and the scant House victory by one vote seems to have cast a damper on the enthusiasm of many who predicted "an overwhelming victory." That little one-vote victory was almost as hard for them to swallow as defeat would have been. They had to eat crow in either case.

* * * * *

Perhaps no better evidence of the way the South regards Woman Suffrage can be found than as shown by the vote on the suffrage amendment in the House in January. The chairman of the most important House committees are mostly from the South, under this Southern-Democratic administration. They are all men of broad experience and long service in public affairs, and no men are better fitted to know just how that constitutional amendment, if carried, would affect their section of the country. The twelve most important committees of the House are generally recognized to be those enumerated below, and of the twelve, ten chairmen voted against the measure; one withheld his vote and only one voted in its favor. In detail, their vote was as follows:

Voting against the amendment were Democratic floor leader, Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee; Frank Clark, Florida, Chairman, Public Buildings and Grounds; Swager Sherley, Kentucky, Chairman, Appropriations; Edwin Y. Webb, North Carolina, Chairman, Judiciary; Carter Glass, Virginia, Chairman, Banking and Currency; Henry D. Flood, Virginia, Chairman, Foreign Affairs; John H. Small, North Carolina, Chairman, Rivers and Harbors; S. Herbert Dent, Alabama, Chairman, Military Affairs; John A. Moon, Tennessee, Chairman, Post Offices and Post Roads; Asbury P. Lever, Georgia, Chairman, Agriculture. All these men are staunch Democrats, but they did not respond to the eleventh hour call for party help as sent out from the White House. They knew too well the disastrous results to the nation, should suffrage prevail as a Federal amendment.

Lemuel P. Padgett, Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs did not cast a vote, and Thetus W. Sims of Tennessee, Chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce was the only Chairman of an important committee to cast

his vote in favor of the amendment. The winning of the amendment in the House by its slender margin of one vote, was brought about by the attitude of men down at the fag end of committees, not by those holding the chairmanships, as the above list shows.

* * * * *

Not long ago a militant by the name of Hill said: "Not every suffragist is a socialist, but every socialist is a suffragist." And as "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," so the recent election in New York showed the truth of Miss Hill's statement. Through indisputable figures it has been shown that the socialist vote carried suffrage for that State. And that the women who are clamoring for a vote are pursuing the same tactics elsewhere is pretty clearly shown by the fact that this same woman is one of the authorized organizers of the suffrage party and travels throughout the country inciting other women to adopt her socialistic ideas. It is no use for some few women who advocate suffrage to say mildly, "I don't believe in militancy and socialism" when at the same time they sit back in their seats and permit the militants to manage the suffrage campaign. It is symbolical of still another old proverb: "Actions speak louder than words." And in action the militants have proved themselves the spokesmen of the suffrage party.

* * * * *

It is amusing to see the eagerness with which suffragists attempt to give special publicity to the placing of Congresswoman Rankin on the Republican Congressional Committee, as being "a special honor conferred." The fact is that every State in the Union from which a Republican is elected has representation on that Committee. Miss Rankin, Republican, and Mr. Evans, Democrat, are the only members of Congress from Montana, so it fell automatically to the lot of Miss Rankin to be placed on the Congressional Committee, and her appointment had neither political or suffrage significance. There simply was no one else from that State who was eligible.

The District of Columbia recently gave the appointment of women as janitors of schools a try-out, but found that the work was too heavy for them. Since last July, there has been a serious shortage in janitors in the Washington Public Schools, and an attempt was made to fill such vacancies by women, but without satisfactory results, according to statements of the Superintendent of Schools. But they are filling thousands of positions where lighter work is required, and are doing their work well.

If Woman Suffrage becomes universal, a revival of Ancient Egyptian tear bottles and boxing gloves will be in vogue, and political conventions may take on the air of a sob-sister reunion, unless women show better poise than did some of the suffragists at the recent hearing before the House Committee. Militant Miss Martin shed tears of anger as she upbraided Chairman Raker for some fancied slight at the close of one of the sessions; Mrs. Catt didn't cry but announced that she should "be fighting mad" unless she had her own way; and who of us has forgotten the sobs which punctuated Congresswoman Rankin's refusal to sustain Congress in its declaration of war with Germany?

THE DEFEAT OF THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

A WEEK before the meeting in St. Louis of the National Republican Committee the prediction was widely circulated that a Woman's Advisory Committee, headed by the woman Congressman, would be formed by the National Committee on that occasion.

But the much heralded Woman's Committee did not materialize. A resolution providing for such an advisory committee, offered by the Executive Committee to the whole committee, was referred back to the Executive for decision, and there tabled.

Thereby hangs a tale.

Suffragists and anti-suffragists, as well as Republican delegates, journeyed to St. Louis.

Planters Hotel vibrated with the electric cross-currents of contending Republican factions; its lobbies seethed with a conglomeration of delegates, secretaries, lobbyists; bosses snapped their fingers to the obedient scurrying of henchmen; whispered and star chamber colloquies decided the destinies of men and causes.

The more or less able but "retiring" chairman, Mr. William R. Willcox, sponsor of the historic "Golden Special" fiasco, vouchsafed the information that the suffrage representatives would have a chance to present their arguments, and "in order to be perfectly fair" he wanted to have the anti-suffrage side heard also on any proposal involving the question of Woman Suffrage.

Accepting Mr. Willcox's statement in good faith, the anti-suffragists appeared before the Committee on the afternoon designated. Then, without preliminaries, Mr. Willcox precipitated a situation so devoid of justice, courtesy, or gallantry—one might almost say of decency—that it stands forth as the final horrible example warning Americans against subjecting women to that bloodless warfare—politics—in which all the darkest elements of human character meet and grapple, and thrive.

Deliberately, in the presence of the anti-

suffragists (a delegation of six women), Mr. Willcox opened the meeting by saying: "*Before hearing the ladies*, a resolution endorsing the action of those Republican Congressmen who voted in favor of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment will be presented." One man attempted to protest, asking that the vote be deferred until after the ladies were heard; but the affable chairman waived him aside, called for a vote, and as fast as one can say "Jack Robinson" the resolution was put through.

So has the splendid tradition of representative deliberations degenerated into a byword and a farce.

Promptly a picket convict and another suffragist representing the "ladylike" faction expressed their well-feigned surprise with appropriate but obviously premeditated words of thanks; whereupon the smooth and happy chairman, without apology or any sign of shame, signified that "the antis would now be heard."

What Mr. Willcox expected the antis to say will never be known. But as the stirring speeches of Miss Minnie Bronson and Miss Lucy Price proceeded, evoking rounds of applause, after intervals of breathless silence the chairman's face registered, in succession, amazement, a sickly smile, pain, stupefaction, and woe.

Neatly and unanswerably, without rancor or bitterness, Miss Bronson and Miss Price told those men wherein they had erred, to what tragic extent they had broken their pledge to the American people, what the consequences of their act might be, and of the unquenchable determination of anti-suffragists to wage unceasing war against the two great enemies of American civilization—Feminism and Socialism.

When the tumult of applause died down, the chairman, in subdued and rather plaintive tones, offered the resolution on the Woman's Advisory Committee.

This time only one protesting voice—unanimously endorsed—was needed to send that resolution back from whence it came. In the later election of a new chairman, the Woman's Advisory Committee, together with its father, petered out into an unregretted oblivion.

Does anyone still wonder why suffragists, from Mrs. Catt down and up, refuse to debate with anti-suffragists before any tribunal?

Meanwhile, in Washington, the Executive Committee of the National Committee of the Democratic Party held a star chamber session at the Shoreham Hotel. Without giving anybody a chance to be heard, or making any advance announcement of their intention to "beat the Republicans to it" the Executive Committee sent telegrams to the Democratic State Chairmen asking them to wire their indorsement of the Federal Amendment. It is alleged that twenty-eight of them did so. Fourteen State Chairmen returned a "No" and six did not answer. In making the announcement, the Executive Committee said that its members were "unanimously" in favor of the amendment. This announcement was wholly unnecessary, for no Committee on earth would have "put over" such a proposition unless it was packed with men who consider the formal plank adopted by the National Democratic Party in St. Louis a "scrap of paper."

The "unanimous" Executive Committee, however, discreetly omitted to give the names of the twenty State chairmen who refused to indorse the Federal Amendment. Since it takes only thirteen States to defeat the Amendment, this information would have been more valuable to the public than to the suffragists. Consequently, with customary suffrage suppression of the whole truth, the Committee leaves us to guess the names of the twenty States where Democrats evidently do not indorse the Federal Amendment.

WHERE SOME WOMEN VOTE

IN THE LAND OF THREATENED "REPRISALS"

The total number of persons who registered in the two days was 37,623, about 10 per cent. of whom were men who had to register again this year because they had failed to register last Fall or because they had moved from one election district into another since that time.

The entire male registration in the four Congressional districts last Fall was 135,022. As the census figures for New York State show 1,029 males to every 1,000 females, the

total registration of women would have been 131,216 had they registered in the same proportion as men did in 1917. The total registration of 37,623 during the four days was 28 per cent. of the registration of men in the four districts in 1917. Estimating that 10 per cent. of the latest registrants were men, the women registered for the special election were about 25 per cent. of the number who would be on the books if the women had shown the same eagerness to register that the men of the same districts did last year.—*New York Times*, February 25, 1918.

AN ELEMENT OF STRENGTH

The opposition of women to the election of Senator Wadsworth is regarded by G. O. P. bosses as an *asset* and not a party liability. The strength of the anti-suffragists in the State has never been tested, and Wadsworth is relied upon to co-ordinate this party, which, augmented by the rural woman vote, it is believed will more than overtop feminine opposition in the cities.

Compared with Governor Whitman, Wadsworth shows elements of strength that must be taken into consideration by party leaders.—*New York American*, February 25, 1918.

OUR NEW NATIONAL NEWSPAPER

AT the convention of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage last December, it was resolved to create a new national newspaper which would express the ideals of the majority of American women, and afford them an opportunity to get the latest available information of what the average woman can do and is doing to help her country.

The average woman is rarely in the newspapers. Her finest and most essential service is hardly sensational enough to be "news" to the average publisher. The woman who gets the "publicity" is usually the woman who has done something unusual which is generally regarded as an average occupation for a man.

For instance, it is not news when a man becomes a policeman—but it is so unusual for a woman to "play at" being a policeman that she is entitled to a place on the front page, and a chance to air her views on everything on earth, the day she gets the appointment.

Nothing shows the real weakness of feminism so much as the fact that all masculine jobs are still regarded as unusual for women and worth featuring as "news" by the sensational journals which are loudest in proclaiming that women are "doing the work of men."

So long as you see the picture of a woman policeman or a woman hod-carrier or a woman section-hand in the "news," you can feel assured that there are comparatively few women in the world doing that kind of work.

THE WOMAN PATRIOT will paint the "other side" of the picture.

With fair yet fearless discrimination, it will present facts in proportion to their value to the country and to the average woman. A great writer, when asked the secret of his success, replied, "I have always appealed to the aspirations of the average person."

THE WOMAN PATRIOT, therefore, will regard the story of what millions of women are doing as of more importance than the story of what some exceptional individuals attempt.

Colonel Henry Watterson, Anna Katherine Green, Annie Nathan Meyer, Elizabeth Ogden Wood and Margaret C. Robinson will be the contributing editors. We are also in hopes of receiving a favorable reply from Mrs. Humphry Ward, of England, and several other distinguished writers.

There will be regular departments on War Service, Home Economics, and Legal Aid and Legislation for Women.

THE WOMAN PATRIOT will be in the form of a newspaper, issued weekly.

The Committee appointed by the Board of Directors to prepare the plans for THE WOMAN PATRIOT had expected to get them approved at the January meeting, and to publish the new newspaper on March 1st. But the request of the Government that travel be reduced led to the omission of the January meeting of the Board of Directors, and therefore THE WOMAN PATRIOT has not been able to come out on March 1st.

Plans were perfected at the meeting of the Board of Directors on February 28th, which will enable THE WOMAN PATRIOT to come out about the middle of March.

Do not forget to send "all the news that's fit to print" to THE PATRIOT. There will be five times as much space available per month in THE PATRIOT as there has been in THE PROTEST.

THE PROTEST has always been too crowded with special articles, "views," and too far behind on "news." THE PATRIOT, on the contrary, will be operated on a newspaper basis, and any reports of meetings, etc., will be published the current week.

THE WOMAN PATRIOT will be sent to all subscribers to THE PROTEST and "Anti-Suffrage Notes" until the expiration of their present subscriptions to the older publications.

Use the blank on the back page.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE NOTES

By MRS. MARGARET C. ROBINSON

ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS believe in constructive, united, direct social action as women, as opposed to political, factional, party action as imitators of men.

Democracy is that form of government which permits every individual citizen to do his best for the common good. Women can best serve the common good outside of politics.

The *New Republic*, of January 13th, says: "Massachusetts, though not a radical State, has often been a leader in liberal measures." This is very handsome of the *New Republic*, to admit that a male suffrage State can lead in anything. Massachusetts has been a pioneer and leader in the Anti-Suffrage Cause, and is a State in which women patriots are honored above women politicians.

A democracy must be strong in order to be safe. If democracy does not protect itself an autocracy will take its place.

Our woman Congressman was opposed to self-defense on the part of our Government.

Mushrooms growing at the base of a tree indicate a diseased condition and approaching decay of the tree. Woman Suffrage is a sign of weakness and decay in the body politic. This was proved in ancient Greece and Rome,

and is being proved in modern Russia and Finland. Under the heading, "*Stagnant and Festering*," the *New York Times* of February 6th, says:

"Is Russia being made over, not, indeed, in accordance with our American ideals, but still in accordance with ideals? Is it a new socialistic order rising slowly and painfully out of the chaos? The French Reign of Terror was fury for a purpose. There is no analogy in Russia. The only reign of terror there is there is a reign of the lawless, of the criminal. It is one of slow, progressive degeneration of all the social organs. Look back over the eleven months, and instead of seeing the slow, painful rise of a socialistic State, one will see a continuous degeneracy. The social organism fell dead, and the process that has followed with first one and then another of its organs is the decay that sets in after death. It is not merely that disorder has increased, but that not even the first step, socialistic or otherwise, has been taken to arrest it, to put something in place of what was removed."

The French Revolution said "No" to the women who wanted political power. Its leaders believed that government was man's

job. Its influence survived, and France was reborn a republic.

The Russian Revolution said "Yes" to the women who wanted political power. Its leaders, being pacifists and Socialists as well as suffragists, have already brought ruin upon their country. The effect of the Revolution will be merely to have exchanged a native Czar for a foreign Kaiser.

Finland adopted Woman Suffrage a few years ago. As usual, Socialism soon followed, and Socialism has developed into the wildest anarchy.

Scandinavians from Finland, according to an Exchange Telegraph despatch from Copenhagen, report that the Red Guard government in Finland a few days ago seriously discussed the question of arranging a "St. Bartholomew's Night." It is said they planned to kill all members of the capitalists class over eight years of age! The project was rejected by only two votes. According to another despatch from Copenhagen, the Red Guards have made a frightful slaughter of great masses of Finnish people and have been plundering and killing in a most brutal manner.

The Woman Patriot

FOR HOME AND NATIONAL DEFENSE AGAINST
WOMAN SUFFRAGE, FEMINISM AND SOCIALISM

A National Newspaper

(Issued Weekly)

WILL SUCCEED

The Woman's Protest

AND

ANTI-SUFFRAGE NOTES

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